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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 MC-02 /166 W
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P R 032140Z DEC 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3030

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3509

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5869

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG POSITION ON STABILIZING MEASURES

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT DECEMBER 3 NAC MEETING, FRG CIRCULATED TEXT OF CURRENT GERMAN POSITION ON STABILIZING MEASURES (FULL TEXT BELOW). PAPER INDICATES LITTLE SHIFT IN GERMAN POSITION. FRG CONTINUES TO FAVOR: INCLUSION OF NON-US NATO FORCES AND NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT FORCES; MAKING AREA OF APPLICATION DEPENDENT UPON CONTENT; HANDLING PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF EXERCISES AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS IN CSCE; AND BRITISH FORCE MORATORIUM AGREEMENT IDEA. FRG CAN AGREE TO CONFINE MEASURES TO THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA, ONLY IF THIS REFERS TO PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. CONDITION FOR DISCUSSING PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES IN MBFR CONTEXT IS ASSURANCE THAT ALLIES (READ U.S.) PURSUE MEASURE IN CSCE. COUNCIL ASKED SPC TO DISCUSS THESE NEW FRG INSTRUCTIONS ON
SECRET

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4. END SUMMARY.

1. BEGIN TEXT OF FRG PAPER:

SUBJECT: MBFR:
STABILIZING MEASURES

I.

1. INCLUSION OF EUROPEAN FORCES

STABILIZING MEASURES SHOULD PRIMARILY AIM AT COMPENSATING, AT LEAST PARTIALLY, THE SUPERIOR OPERATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER, THE MULTILATERAL NATURE OF MBFR IN OUR OPINION MAKES IT NECESSARY TO ALSO INCLUDE THE OTHER LAND FORCES PRESENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN THIS CONTEXT, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE STABILIZING MEASURES ARE ARRANGED AND FORMULATED IN SUCH A MANNER THAT OUR SECURITY INTERESTS ARE ENSURED AND THAT THERE ARE NO NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS.

2. AREA OF APPLICATION

(A) THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES SHOULD DEPEND ON THEIR CONTENT. WE SHOULD NOT RENOUNCE OUR INSISTENCE ON THE INCLUSION OF HUNGARY INTO THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES. AT THE PRESENT STAGE, THIS QUESTION, AS WELL AS THE QUESTION OF THE INCLUSION OF THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS, SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN.

(B) THE AMERICAN PAPER OF 12 NOVEMBER REFERS TO THE NATO AGREEMENT TO RELATE THESE MEASURES AND MOVEMENTS "IN THE FIRST INSTANCE" TO THE NGA AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE NGA BUT NOT TO RULE OUT ANY EXTENSION." WE SUPPORT THIS POSITION BUT WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THIS REFERS ONLY TO PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. WE WILL BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION OF THE STABILIZING MEASURES FOR THE FORCES CONCERNED IF THIS LIMITATION IS CLEARLY APPLIED TO PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES AND IF A CORRESPONDING ARRANGEMENT COULD BE LIMITED IN TIME.

3. THE TIME ELEMENT

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(A) WE MAINTAIN IN PRINCIPLE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES AND THE MEASURES RELATED TO REDUCTIONS.

(B) MEASURES WHICH CAN BE AGREED INDEPENDENTLY OF REDUCTIONS SHOULD CONTAIN A PROVISIO THAT THEY ARE IN FORCE FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THEY CAN BE RENEWED. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT "APPROPRIATE STABILIZING MEASURES" HAVE TO BE INCLUDED AS PERMANENT ELEMENTS INTO THE REDUCTION AGREEMENTS OF EACH PHASE.

II.

1. MY AUTHORITIES HAVE ASKED ME TO COMMENT ON THE VARIOUS

MEASURES AS FOLLOWS:

PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES
INTO THE AREA INCLUDING ROTATIONS

WE CAN AGREE TO THIS MEASURE. HOWEVER, WE WOULD PREFER TO
SAY "AREA OF REDUCTIONS" INSTEAD OF "AREA".

PRE-ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN
THE AREA

WE WOULD PREFER TO LEAVE THE PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF EXERCISES
AS PART OF THE CSCE IN ORDER NOT TO ENDANGER ITS DISCUSSION
IN THAT FRAMEWORK. WE FIND IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THIS
MEASURE BE RELATED TO THE WHOLE OF EUROPE.
HOWEVER, WE CAN AGREE TO DISCUSS THIS MEASURE ALREADY NOW
IN THE MBFR CONTEXT IF IT IS ENSURED THAT THE MEASURE IS
FURTHER PURSUED WITHIN THE CSCE FRAMEWORK WITH THE SUPPORT
OF OUR ALLIES.
WE SUGGEST THAT THE STABILIZING MEASURE SHOULD BE DESCRIBED
AS FOLLOWS:

"PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES OF ALL GROUND
FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WHILE NEGOTIATIONS
ARE IN PROGRESS."

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3031

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LIMITATIONS ON THE SIZE, LOCATION, NUMBER AND DURATION
OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA

WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS IF IT IS MODIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

- THE REFERENCE TO "LOCATIONS" AND TO "NUMBER" ARE DELETED;
- THE EXPLICIT MENTION OF "IN THE AREA" IS DELETED;
- AGREEMENT ON THIS MEASURE SHOULD INITIALLY BE LIMITED TO THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

ACCORDINGLY, WE SUGGEST THAT THIS MEASURE SHOULD BE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

"LIMITATION ON SIZE AND DURATION OF MAJOR EXERCISES WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS".

EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL (US AND SOVIET) FORCES IN THE AREA

EXCHANGES OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES SHOULD NOT BE A SECRET

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MATTER FOR MBFR AND SHOULD BE RESERVED TO CSCE.

AGREEMENT BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR NOT TO RAISE THE TOTAL AGGREGATE MANPOWER OF THEIR GROUND FORCES PERMANENTLY STATIONED IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE.

WE STILL CONSIDER THIS BRITISH PROPOSAL TO BE A SUITABLE MEASURE.

AGREEMENT BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER AND SCOPE OF THE EXERCISE ACTIVITY OF THEIR LAND FORCES WHILE THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS

THIS IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE MEASURE CONCERNING THE "LIMITATION ON SIZE AND DURATION OF MAJOR EXERCISES WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS."

2. ALL THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY THE FOLLOWING GENERAL PROVISIONS:

- OPTION TO INTRODUCE OTHER STABILIZING MEASURES ACCOMPANYING REDUCTIONS;
- UNDERSTANDING THAT APPROPRIATE STABILIZING MEASURES WILL BE INCORPORATED AS PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS IN THE AGREEMENTS ON REDUCTIONS OF EACH SHAPE;
- STATEMENT THAT THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS AND MEASURES WILL BE EXAMINED AND DISCUSSED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. END TEXT.

2. COMMENT: FOLLOWING NAC MEETING, UK DELOFF TOLD US PRIVATELY

THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ANY NEW INSTRUCTIONS FOR DECEMBER 4
SPC MEETING, AND HE DOUBTED THAT LONDON AGREE TO FRG POSITION
ON INCLUSION OF EUROPEAN FORCES.
RUMSFELD

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